The Commonweal

April 11, 1952

FAR EAST POLICY: TWO VIEWS

Freda Utley and Harold C. Hinton

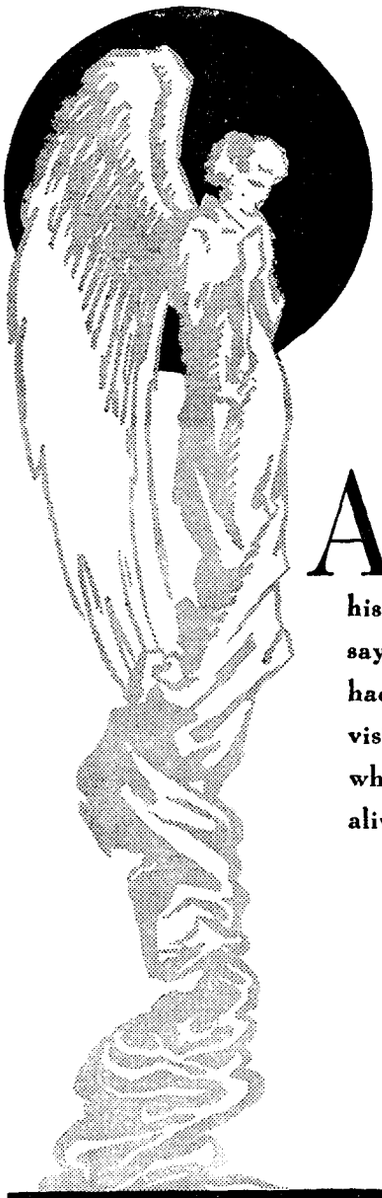
The Captive Mind at Work

Francis Downing

T. E. CASSIDY • GEOFFREY ASHE • WILLIAM P. CLANCY
PHILIP BURNHAM • GARY MacEOIN

Volume LVI **15c** *Number 1*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



And not finding his body, came, saying that they had also seen a vision of angels, who say that he is alive.

Luke 24:23

Will & Baumer

CHURCH CANDLES

The Pioneer Church Candle Manufacturers of America • Established 1855

SYRACUSE • NEW YORK

BOSTON • LOS ANGELES • CHICAGO • MONTREAL

THIS WEEK

Week by Week 3

The Isolationism of 'Internationalists'
by Freda Utley 6

A New Kind of Diplomacy
by Harold C. Hinton 9

The Captive Mind at Work
by Francis Downing 12

The Stage
by Walter Kerr 14

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 14

Communications 15

Leisure in a Bourgeois World
by William P. Clancy 18

Books 20

THE COMMONWEAL
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Editor*
JOHN COGLEY: *Executive Editor*
JAMES O'GARA: *Managing Editor*
WILLIAM PFAFF: *Assistant Editor*
(*on leave with the Armed Forces*)

Associate Editors:
JOHN C. CORT, FRANCIS DOWNING
PHILIP T. HARTUNG: *Cinema*
WALTER KERR: *Theatre*

Contributing Editors:
PHILIP BURNHAM, ANNE FREMANTLE

JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*

Published weekly, printed and copyrighted 1952, in the U. S. A., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y. MUrray Hill 3-9688. Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. U. S. and Canada, $7 a year; Foreign $8. Single copies, 15c.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

Defeat and Victory

THE Marxian atheist and the Christian believer face a common prospect when it comes to their objectives for the world: neither stands to realize the vision he has for the community. Human nature being what it is, society can never attain to a pure classless state where there is no want and no police force is necessary. In fact, it is already amply demonstrated that, instead of "withering away" in the expected orthodox fashion, state dictatorships solidify their hold on the instruments of power and continually extend both their sway and their totalitarianism. While the Christian who seeks God's Kingdom cannot look for complete fulfilment until the end of time.

The goal of the Revolution still remains its goal. The Marxists do not admit that they have pursued the wrong path or that their ideal is unattainable. For his part the Christian must go on striving for the kingdom even though he knows attainment lies beyond his reach. But at least his dedication to this social task provides him with a means of working out his individual salvation.

Yet here his comparative advantages would appear to end. With a few heroic exceptions his Marxist rival consistently surpasses him. It is the Communists who have succeeded in our day in responding to the aspirations of the exploited, the naked and the hungry, the dispossessed. It is the Communists who have succeeded in making the cause of social justice their very own.

That is partially because the generality of Christians have failed to perceive the full pertinence of Holy Week. It does not sufficiently strike them that this abject yet magnificent drama of the gift of self, of humiliation, agony and defeat—and of victory over sin and death—points out for us the way to a victorious course of action. For if Communists are able to extend their sway over countless millions by their wholehearted dedication to a spurious personal and social ideal, what could we Christians not accomplish for the world in the way of peace and plenty and justice (and in the development of genuine brotherly love), if we could develop a like spirit of personal dedication?

That is particularly difficult in America today. Our well-fed, preoccupied and lethargic environment militates against it. Although we know far more of the existence of the exploited, the hungry and the naked in other lands than ever before, it is hardly possible to imagine our own selves in similarly desperate straits, much less do anything substantial to alleviate such misery. We take it as a matter of right that we, and virtually only we, should live on the fat of the land.

THAT is one reason that American words to others about freedom, plenty and the preservation of peace have so little impact. That is why so few European workers and peasants, so few of those living in destitution in Latin America and the Orient, have affection for the United States.

A whole-souled personal ascent to Golgotha is no easy journey. The implications for us of the Passion are unmistakable. If we are to play our part in the regeneration of the world, there is no other way than that of extraordinary personal sacrifice. We must share with the needy here and abroad much of our own personal wherewithal; we must do such things as persuade our nation to share its surpluses and live-giving techniques to an effective degree all round the globe—and to open wider our doors to the homeless exile.

Men and women whose reliving of the scenes on the Mount of Olives and the Hill of Calvary leads them, among other things, to dedicate their lives to the establishment of God's Kingdom in the world can expect many defeats and humiliations. Yet only then will they able to sense to the full our Savior's victory over sin and death, the hope founded on the Resurrection.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Truman's Decision

THE "stunned surprise" of both politicians and ordinary citizens when they heard Mr. Truman's announcement that he would not again be a candidate for the nation's highest office was probably due more to the dramatic suddenness of the news than to the decision itself, and in most cases the initial reaction was quickly followed by a healthy sense of relief.

Considering the well known convictions of Mr. Truman himself, as well as the logical necessities of the present political climate in the United States, any other decision would have been almost impossible, and until this decision had been announced, no real clarification of the issues which will face the voters in November could be made.

In the first place, Mr. Truman's deep interest in and feeling for history has been widely remarked, and it is now well known that from it he has formed strong convictions on the dangers of holding power for too long. The evidence for this and for his firm faith that the place of his administration in history is now assured which is contined in the recently published *Mr. President* should have sufficiently prepared both the Democratic Party and the nation for his imminent abdication of power.

No matter how bitter his critics have sometimes been, few of them have leveled the "power-mad" charge which was their stock-in-trade during the Roosevelt era. This being so, it must long have seemed highly unlikely that he would violate his own deep convictions on length of tenure and, at the same time, risk that place in history which he now feels is secure for any but the most compelling reasons. And given his own convictions on the non-existence of the indispensable man, it is difficult to imagine any reasons which could have seemed compelling enough to deter him from his course.

In the second place (and again even his severest critics have never denied this) Mr. Truman is a thorough-going political realist. He may not be driven to continue *himself* in power, but his Jackson Day address leaves no doubt of his determination to see a continuation in power of those principles of foreign and domestic policy of which he is the principal architect.

The growing rebellion of the Southern Democrats against him personally, the widely made identification with his administration of corruption in government and "softness toward the Reds" could not have escaped him. These, coupled with the real evidence that the mood of the voters is for new faces and new approaches in Washington must have convinced him that the aims to which he is committed demanded his own retirement. As the chance that General Eisenhower will become the Republican candidate increased, the need for an equally new force, one capable of commanding a majority of the independent vote, became more and more necessary for the Democrats. Mr. Truman's decision has made this possible.

All this is not to say, of course, that Mr. Truman bowed to any ultimate verdict against his administration. It is rather to say that, given the exigencies of the moment, he was convinced that the broad aims of his administration as well as his own place in history would best be served by the substitution of a newer and firmer hand.

What is important is that the issues themselves be argued, and the issues far transcend any personal bitterness which undoubtedly has become attached to the Truman Administration and which might have defeated it. The high function to which both parties are called now becomes possible: to nominate men free from the petty animosities, calumnies, and deliberate distortions which have too long obscured the real choices before the nation, men who can offer the electorate reasonable and meaningful alternatives without inviting disaster through the choice of either.

The temptation to power is one of the most subtle and soul-destroying known to man and, once known, terribly difficult to vanquish. It is never one which is easily overcome. Having made his decision Harry Truman has conquered it, and in so doing, he has rendered an historic service to the nation. It is a service which should be universally acknowledged.

NEXT WEEK

OLIVER MARTIN writes about religion and the American state university.

"If religion is important at all it cannot be separated from education. It would be a contradiction for a truly neutral state to admit the possibility of truth in religion and at the same time eliminate it from the curriculum. The neutrality of the state means that the state *as such* does not take sides. The state neither prefers nor takes sides in the controversy over whether Einstein's or Milne's theory is most adequate. Both theories may be taught. Similarly, the state is neutral in religious matters."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Famine in India

FEW Americans have ever looked squarely into the face of hunger. In some places, it has been reported, people will eat mud if they are starving. They will die in a few days, but in the meantime they will have filled their stomachs. In many countries where famine is common, the inhabitants will eat the bark from the trees. The trees will die, but the people will live to be hungry a little longer.

This is the kind of hunger Americans have never known. We have our sharecroppers and our migratory workers, but even these are rich in comparison. We have tornadoes and floods, but when the winds quiet and the waters recede, help is already on the way. We had our long gray period of the Great Depression, and in those years many individuals and families lived lives of quiet desperation. But even then we had enough resources to make sure our people did not die by the millions.

For most of us in this country hunger means the sharp appetite after a day's work, the inconvenience of the delayed train, the annoyance of a postponed lunch on a busy day. That is our picture of hunger, and we should be grateful that our knowledge is so sketchy.

But we should never forget that in many parts of the world hunger means not inconvenience but death. We should remember that our national wealth erects a wall around us, and scaling this wall is not easy. But scale it we must.

As this is being written—and read—people are dying of hunger. For five years drought has seared the land around the great port city of Madras in India. Now the earth is baked hard, the fields are brown, the trees without life, the people almost without hope.

Many families have left their homes in the country around the busy seaport, but there is really not much point in their leaving. Some ten million people normally live in the famine-stricken area, and where are ten million people to go? The cities are already over-crowded, drinking water is getting dangerously low, and hunger walks city streets as well as country roads.

In Madras, emergency food centers have been set up. Some are operated by government funds, some have private support. What they distribute is a kind of gruel, made by mixing coarse grain with water. Each person receives a pint of this mixture, and it is supposed to support life for another twenty-four hours. It is little enough, but it is all that can be done, and it is welcomed.

This is hunger abroad. This is the way famine strikes a people most of whom don't have enough to eat in normal times. A drought in India, a poor rice crop in China, a plague of locusts somewhere else, and the people die. So many die that the figures easily lose their meaning, especially for Americans, whose very comfort tends to insulate them from the world.

Talk about Point Four programs for economic development easily gets abstract. Efforts to stave off famines in countries like India are almost necessarily reported in technical language. It is often hard to pierce the facade of statistics in order to see the Indian mother unable to nurse her child, the child too young to understand, the father helpless. But it is essential that we see beyond the charts, the tables, the maps.

The technical talk is not headline material, but it means plows. It means better threshing methods. It includes plans for irrigation to bring water to parched areas like that around Madras. Technical assistance from the US means more yield per acre. It holds the promise of something more than a pint of thin gruel for the hungry. Point Four programs for economic development hold the secret of food for the Indian mother, life for her child. Point Four promises hope where now there is only despair.

If we go beyond the maps and charts and think in terms of people rather than statistics, we will not tolerate the notion of killing the Point Four program. Instead we will search out ways to broaden it, to make it even more effective, while there is still time.

One Good Prospect

THE reason for a bi-partisan foreign policy in time of war is plain enough; it holds for the present cold war, too. Moreover that policy is actually diametrically opposed to what remains of an isolationism which developments in the modern world have rendered no longer even arguable. The Republican primaries will decide whether isolationism is to be an issue in the campaign. And if the American voter is confronted with the choice of General Eisenhower or Governor Stevenson—an eventuality which is not unlikely—the ensuing debate would have to devolve solely around domestic issues. Whoever won, an emphatically internationalist foreign policy would be assured. Having been so assured, the forces of isolationism in this country would be finally—and permanently—discredited.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FAR EASTERN POLICY

The Isolationism of 'Internationalists'

"We face the same enemy westwards across the Pacific as across the Atlantic."

By FREDA UTLEY

THANKS to the inexorable logic of facts, and the lessons of experience, the climate of American opinion has changed. It is now as cool toward the friends of the Chinese Communists as it was formerly warm. What one can justly describe as the Chinese Communist lobby in America, which for many years enjoyed a quasi-monopoly in the press, on the radio, in book reviewing, in the universities, and other media no longer exists.

Whereas formerly every anti-Communist book on China received the silent treatment, or was damned by the publications which make or break books, today it is difficult to find anyone but avowed Communists to champion the Chinese Communist cause. The respectable and popular journalists, authors and profesors, who used to tell us that Mao Tse-tung, Chuh-Teh, Chou En-lai, and their followers were nice liberal "agrarian reformers" whom we ought to prefer to the "corrupt," "reactionary" and generally wicked National Government, have been silenced by the Korean war, or are today singing another tune.

None of the "experts" any longer defends the thesis that the Chinese Communists are not "real" Communists. Some of them, however, cling to the forlorn hope that Mao will become a Tito provided we are careful not to annoy him by attacking the Communist supply bases in Manchuria, or by blockading China and permitting the Nationalist forces to fight for the liberation of their country, or otherwise trying to win the Korean war instead of accepting the Communist terms.

Today the old argument against doing anything to stem the Communist tide in Asia is being presented in a new guise. We are now being told that Europe must come first; that however mistaken our China policies may have been, we cannot, or should not, take any effective action to defeat Communism in the Far East because our first line of defense is on the Elbe, or the Rhine, or the Seine, or maybe the Pyrenees.

Before examining the out-of-date conceptions on which this argument is based it is necessary to give a brief account of the American policy which resulted in the Communist conquest of China and thus led to the Korean War. For there is no subject on which the public has been so greatly misinformed as China. Either because they were ignorant, or because they had Communist sympathies, or because they were opportunists in the era when it was profitable to be pink, the majority of our so-called experts on the Far East permitted the sources of information to be polluted.

ALTHOUGH the story of our self-defeating policy begins with the Yalta agreement which gave Soviet Russia virtual control over Manchuria, it was not until General Marshall's mission to China that the ascendancy in our national councils was won by those who sought to compel the National Government to make concessions to the Communists. General Marshall's instructions, as publicly announced by President Truman on December 15, 1945, were to withhold aid from the National Government unless and until it agreed to share power with the Communists. Our Chinese friends were told that credits, technical assistance and military aid would be withheld from them until "fair and effective representation" had been given to the Communists.

Whether General Marshall drew up his own instructions, as stated by Mr Acheson and other witnesses, or whether he was merely carrying out orders, as he himself insists, the fact remains that during his mission, and afterwards as Secretary of State, General Marshall acted on the assumption that the Communists were a democratic Chinese "faction," independent of Moscow, whom the Nationalists should be compelled to admit to a share of power.

Either it was not understood that American pressures could be exerted only against our friends, the Nationalists, and could have no effect on the Communists who took their orders from Stalin; or, the United States Administration

---

Freda Utley is the author of "The China Story"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was determined to appease Soviet Russia at any cost. By withholding military aid from the National Government until it came to terms with those who wrought havoc in China for their own ultimate gain we put the Communists in a position to blackmail our allies.

General Marshall in 1946 not only insisted on repeated truces whenever the Nationalist forces were winning and the Communists begged Uncle Sam to save them. In July, 1946, he imposed an embargo on the sale of arms and ammunition to China. For almost a year thereafter the anti-Communist forces were prevented from buying a single round of ammunition in the US, or anywhere else, while Moscow's satellite forces were being abundantly supplied by Russia from its stores of captured Japanese arms in Manchuria, and from the American lend-lease supplies delivered to Asiatic Russia after V-E Day for the war against Japan which she never fought.*

Far from having given China "billions" to resist Communism, the actual amount of our post-war military aid to China for this purpose totaled only about 350 million dollars.

Of this small total, the 125 million dollars worth of arms and ammunition made available by the April, 1948, China Aid Act, was not delivered until the end of that year or early in 1949, when it was too late for it to affect the outcome of the unequal struggle Mr. Leighton Stuart, who cannot be accused of illiberal tendencies and who was appointed Ambassador to China in 1947, after the cancellation of General Wedemeyer's appointment to the post following Chinese Communist objections, reported to the State Department on March 17, 1948: "In their despair all groups blamed America for urging structural changes . . . or reforms which they feel they themselves would carry out if their immediate internal problems were not so acute, while America still delays the long promised aid upon which the survival of democratic institutions depends."

A few days later, on March 31, 1948, Ambassador Stuart wrote: "The Chinese people do not want to become Communists, yet they see the tide of Communism running irresistibly onward. In the midst of this chaos and inaction the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek) stands out as the only moral force capable of action."

In a dispatch dated August 10, 1948, the US Ambassador pronounced himself as definitely opposed to the foundation of a coalition government in China. He wrote: "The history of coalitions including Communists demonstrates all too clearly Communist ability by political means to take over complete control of the government and in the process to acquire some kind of international recognition. . . . We would recommend therefore that American efforts be designed to prevent the formation of a coalition government."

Even the dispatches of the man he had himself caused to be appointed Ambassador to China did not deflect General Marshall from his course. On leaving China he had made a public statement, (January 7, 1947), in which he had identified as "reactionaries" all those Chinese who "have been opposed to almost every effort I have made to influence the formation of genuine coalition government," and who had been "frank in publicly stating their belief that cooperation by the Chinese Communistic Party in the government was inconceivable . . ." And as late as March 10, 1948, General Marshall "replied in the affirmative" to the question whether President Truman's December, 1945, statement, demanding inclusion of the Communists in the Chinese Nationalist government, was still United States policy.

IN VIEW of the record can anyone wonder why the Chinese Nationalist forces lost heart? How could any soldiers continue to fight with little or no ammunition, and without any hope of help from anywhere since even the United States seemed to favor the Communists?

All this, some people may say, is old history: China is lost, and it makes little difference who was to blame. There would be substance to this argument if the men responsible for our self-defeating Far Eastern policy would admit their mistakes and try to rectify them. But this is precisely what they will not do. Confucius said: A man who commits a mistake and refuses to admit it, commits another mistake.

The vested interest of our present policy-makers in their past mistakes constitutes the main obstacle to the adoption by the United States of an intelligent foreign policy designed to retrieve lost ground and ensure the safety of what is left of the free world. Were it not so we should long since have permitted Chiang Kai-shek's government-in-exile on Formosa to provide the troops we need to win a victory in Korea, and to undermine Communist strength in China. Instead of

* It is no doubt true, as the State Department claims, that the Chinese Communists were largely equipped with American arms. Some of their supplies came from the Nationalist forces who surrendered when they had no bullets left, thanks to General Marshall's embargo. But it is rarely, or never, mentioned that the Communists also enjoyed the advantage of being able to draw upon American lend-lease supplies to Russia.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

welcoming as allies the only substantial forces available and willing to share with us the heat and burden of the day, we are still boycotting the China Nationalists. To accept them as allies would be tantamount to admitting that the State Department made a mistake in withholding aid fighting the Communists on the mainland. American soldiers have had to fight almost alone in Korea, and we now are in process of giving up our original war aims by concessions to the Communists which make a mockery of the sacrifice of so many American and Korean lives.

By and large it is the same State Department officials, journalists, authors, radio commentators, and university professors, who once trusted "Uncle Joe" and later deluded the American people by representing the Chinese Communists as a "progressive" force, who are now telling us that we should let the Far East go because all our strength is required to defend Europe. However innocent they are of Communist sympathies, their ignorance of history and economics made them fall easy victims to Communist propaganda in China. They blamed Chiang Kai-shek for conditions which even a wise, progressive and incorrupt, government could not have ameliorated in the midst of war.

SURELY we should think twice before trusting the policy makers who have been proved utterly wrong in the past. And should we not also realize that there may well be one or two Soviet agents lurking among the "Europe Firsters," now that such agents can no longer disguise themselves as liberal champions of "progressive" Communist forces in China or any other country?

Lenin long ago laid down the strategy which Stalin now appears to be following, namely, the undermining of the "capitalist imperialist" world by means of "revolutions" in Asia. Today this strategy has far greater prospects of success than before the invention of long-range aircraft and atomic bombs. Today the Communists can see the possibility of getting into a position from which they cannot merely weaken the Western world economically, but can also launch a direct attack on the United States.

It is clear even to the layman, so long as his thinking is not confused by propaganda, that today America could be as easily, if not actually more easily, attacked from across the Pacific as from Europe. It is also obvious that the Soviet Empire, which already enjoys a superiority in numbers against those who hope to "contain" it, will enjoy an infinitely greater advantage in manpower, once most of Asia works and fights for the Kremlin

Although it should be obvious that Soviet Russia does not need to conquer Western Europe before launching an attack on America, our "Europe Firsters" conceive of the United States as a country to extend unlimited assistance to European nations, even if those nations show little disposition to fight with us. In a word, their thinking is outdated. They have, so to speak, stood still while the world situation, thanks to wars, political changes, and above all scientific and technological progress, has radically changed. The so-called internationalists have in fact become conservatives who fail to realize the need for a new outlook and new policies to meet new dangers.

Because it was true in 1916, and again in 1940, that America's security depended on the survival of the British Empire and a free Europe, our "internationalists" now fail to see that we can today be attacked and even defeated from the other side of the globe. Stalin must know that he can pick up the pieces in Europe at his leisure if he can first destroy America. And it would seem that many Europeans seek only the privilege which the Cyclops offered to Ulysses, namely that of being eaten last.

All this is not to say that the United States should cease giving aid to Western Europe. But we must be realistic. We can no longer afford to give unconditional aid to all and sundry. If Europe is still our first line of defense, then we should compel the French and the British to cease their opposition to the enlistment of Western Germany as a free and equal partner in the Atlantic Alliance. Already it may be too late. For the March 10th Soviet proposal for a united, free but "neutral" Germany may be genuine. And if it is we may find we have missed our chance to create a viable European defense system, by having, for so long, allowed our policy to be dictated by France and England, and by our own apostles of vengeance.

Similarly with regard to the Far East. Unless and until we begin to base our foreign policy on a proper regard for our own security, and awareness of the fact that we face the same enemy westwards across the Pacific as across the Atlantic, we shall have lost the "battle for the world." Western civilization will be doomed to extinction, either by the slow process of economic attrition, or by direct assault, if we let all Asia go Communist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FAR EASTERN POLICY

A New Kind of Diplomacy

Too many in the Far East look on the Korean war as "simply another case of white men shooting down Asians on Asiatic soil."

By HAROLD C. HINTON

THE present deadlock in the Korean truce negotiations makes it possible that several important aspects of American Far Eastern policy may soon have to be reviewed and redefined. Our government may have to decide, for example, how long we should continue to fight one war of attrition in Korea and support another in Indochina. Again, if the Korean truce negotiations break down completely and the Chinese Communists launch a major offensive in Korea, in Indochina, or against Formosa, should we retaliate by carrying the war to the Chinese mainland, at least to the extent of bombing China's meager communications network?

A long-range answer to questions such as these involves much more than a simple military decision; our commitments all over the world must be taken into account. Our Communist opponents, who view the cold war as a single "anti-imperialist" struggle, regard Korea and Indochina as simply two fronts in a single war, sometimes to the extent of launching offensives on both these fronts simultaneously. We for our part should not consider the Korean war, or even our Far Eastern policy as a whole, in isolation from the struggle against world Communism based on the power of the Soviet Union.

The first question that arises when we consider our Far Eastern policy against the background of our global defense against Communism is whether, since we cannot be equally strong everywhere, the Far East is the region where we ought to make our main effort, military or otherwise—a question of more immediate importance to us than the much-debated one of who or what is responsible for the recent advances of Communism in Asia.

Our strategy during the last war gave priority to Europe and the Middle East over the Far East. The reasons for this decision—the presence in Europe of strong allies, greater enemy strength, and superior industrial capacity; the strong cultural ties binding us to Europe; the oil of the Middle East—were valid then and are valid still. Our Far Eastern policy, then, ought to yield priority to Europe and therefore be basically defensive.

IN the short run, the essential point in such a defensive policy is to maintain at our Far Eastern bases a military force strong enough to discourage any Communist invasion of non-Communist Asia. Since our forces in the Far East are not now strong enough for this purpose, some Americans have advocated strengthening the Chinese Nationalist forces on Formosa and even helping them to invade the Chinese mainland. This plan, for which more enthusiasm seems to be felt in Washington than in Tapei, presents several difficulties.

Chiang Kai-shek's navy and air force are almost negligible, and his ground forces are still inadequately trained and equipped. They almost certainly could not and would not fight on the mainland in the foreseeable future unless they were entirely supplied, transported, and perhaps commanded by Americans, and had American divisions fighting beside them. Indeed, they will be doing all that can reasonably be expected of them if they continue to hold Formosa. Even if Chiang's troops fail to do that, the loss of Formosa, though it would be a blow, would not necessarily have the disastrous consequences predicted by Chiang's friends in America. The latter gloss over the fact that the Chinese Nationalists lost Hainan (an island whose strategic importance is probably greater than that of Formosa since it dominates the air and sea approaches to northern Indochina) to the Communists in the spring of 1950, after a most inept defense.

The attitude of the "Formosa Firsters" in this country, as they have been aptly called, seems to be based partly on the same exaggerated estimate of Nationalist China's value as an ally that plagued our strategy against Japan. Riley Sunderland, an historian in the Department of the

Harold C. Hinton is a member of the History Department at Georgetown. He was an official historian for the U. S. Army in the Far East.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Army, has proved with almost mathematical certainty, on the basis of Japanese documents, that the resistance of Nationalist and Communist China combined, heroic though it was, kept in China only three to six more Japanese divisions than would have been needed to occupy and hold China in the absence of organized resistance.

AMERICAN attacks on the Chinese mainland would probably not succeed much better than Chinese Nationalist attacks. A full-scale invasion, or even the occupation of key points with ground troops, seems out of the question. Strategic bombing of Chinese cities would create slaughter and hatred without attaining any worthwhile military objective. Bombing of China's sketchy communications network and industrial system, combined with a blockade of her coast, offers somewhat better prospects of success, but even here there are drawbacks.

American sea- and airpower cannot keep junks off Chinese coastal waters, or prevent the repair of railroad tracks and bridges, at night, and if enemy anti-aircraft fire were as accurate as it has come to be in Korea our losses might be far heavier than we can now afford. Besides, Communist China's best military equipment comes from Russia, and most of it probably enters by the Soviet-dominated Chinese Changchun Railway in Manchuria, an attack on which would probably be construed as an act of war against the Soviet Union. Finally, the British government, which is probably at least as good a judge of Chinese Communist feelings as ours, seems to believe that any attack on the Chinese mainland would lead Mao Tse-tung to invoke Soviet military intervention under the Sino-Soviet pact of February 14, 1950.

Those who, like General MacArthur, minimize this possibility assume that the Soviet Union would have great difficulty in fighting a major war in the Far East. In his testimony last spring the General made the following statement on this point, among others:

> The Soviet in the Far East deploys possibly between [deleted] of armed men in the various three services. He is dependent for their support almost entirely from [i.e. on] European Russia.
>
> This side of the Baikal region, there is no industrial set-up of major proportion, so that all of the munition equipment, all the strategic war weapons, all of the sustenance that goes in such major quantity to support armed forces, must pass over that railway line which runs from European Russia across Siberia.
>
> That line is strained to the very utmost now to maintain on a normal peace basis the forces which the Soviet maintains in Siberia.
>
> I do not believe that it would be within the capacity of the Soviet to mass any great additional increment of force to launch any predatory attack from the Asiatic continent.

The impression conveyed by this statement is contradicted by the powerful Soviet thrust into Manchuria in August 1945, the seemingly endless amounts of Soviet materiel which have appeared in Korea, and the views which Secretary Marshall expressed, later in the hearings, on the same point:

> I felt, from the information that has been given me from our various sources, that the Soviet had a considerable build-up in the Far East, which had built up in a rather recent period, notably in Sakhalin, and the vicinity of Vladivostok, as to the planes, and Port Arthur and Dairen, as to planes.
>
> Now, as to the build-up of supplies . . . I have gotten the impression from the information that it conveys a great threat to Japan. . . .

Equally unconvincing is General MacArthur's further statement that "our main enemy" is "communism throughout the world," for the plain fact is that Soviet Russia is far ahead of us quantitatively, and roughly abreast of us qualitatively, in such weapons as planes and tanks, and that Communism would scarcely be a menace of world-wide proportions if it were not for the power of the Soviet Union. To mount a major offensive against China, or any Communist nation other than the Soviet Union, would be an extremely unwise and uneconomical use of our precious manpower and resources. If we must fight a major war—and it is not yet certain that we must—let us at least fight the main enemy.

STILL, our main immediate opponents in the Far East are Chinese, not Russians, and we should have to find some way to deal with them if they were to launch an offensive in Korea or Indochina, against Formosa, or possibly in Burma, Nepal, or India. The Eighth Army can probably hold its present line in Korea, but it cannot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drive to the Yalu and restore a united Korea to its people without reinforcements, and we cannot fight another ground campaign elsewhere on the Asiatic mainland in the immediate future.

In the case of Formosa, our naval and air power would probably be decisive, but they would not be in the mainland regions of Southeast Asia. The French and Vietnamese in Indochina already have their hands full with their Vietminh enemies, and a Chinese Communist invasion would probably overwhelm them. Thailand, Burma, and Malaya, with their rich resources, would then lie open to invasion. Our position in the Far East would be almost as bad as it was in 1942.

The best short-run defense against such a disaster would probably be a clear warning to Mao Tse-tung that any more Chinese offensives would expose his country to blockade and bombardment, but this method of dealing with him, even if carefully and selectively employed, has its drawbacks, as we have seen. The best long-range defense would be to increase our military and economic aid to threatened regions, help to satisfy legitimate nationalist aspirations in the former colonial areas, negotiate a defensive alliance among the non-Communist nations with interests in the Far East, and do everything possible to bring about a settlement of the differences which now divide and weaken our potential allies—such as the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, or between Indonesia and the Netherlands over western New Guinea.

SUCH a policy would not be easy to carry out, for the governments of the former colonial areas in Asia, such as India, Burma, and Indonesia, are generally neutralist in their attitude toward the Cold War. In Indonesia, for example, the government of Premier Sukiman has recently been forced out of office because it was accused of endangering Indonesian neutrality by showing a disposition to accept American military aid.

There can be no greater mistake than to assume, as some well-meaning but badly informed anti-Communists seem to assume, that the bulk of mankind is burning with hatred of Communism and will rally to our side if we only provide strong leadership. The fact is that most of the people of Asia outside China know very little about Communism, and many of them tend to think of the United States, rather than Soviet Russia, as the outstanding exponent of crass materialism and even imperialism. All too many look on the Korean war as simply another case of white men shooting down Asians on Asiatic soil.

In a recent article in *The Reporter* Philip Singer quotes the views of a sadhu, or Indian holy man, on this point. "When America attacked Korea," opined the sadhu, "the Chinese, who were styled by the Americans as apes, made an army out of nothing and threw back the armed might of the Americans."

People in this frame of mind can feel nothing but strong dislike for the forceful methods advocated by General MacArthur. Nor is the cultivated aloofness of the old-style American career diplomat likely to succeed much better in the essential task of winning their respect and confidence. Diplomacy is needed in dealing with them, but it must be diplomacy of a new type.

Fortunately, we already have at least two first-class diplomats of a new type at work in India. One is Chester Bowles, our recently appointed ambassador, whose informality, interest in Indian welfare, and readiness to treat Indians as friends and equals have done much to thaw Indian suspicions of the United States. It is worth recalling that Senator Taft, who is now posing as an authority on American Far Eastern policy, opposed Bowles's confirmation in the Senate on the grounds that he was unfit for the job and would not get on well with the Indians. The other diplomat of a new type is Horace Holmes, an agricultural extension expert who by education at the grassroots level has roughly doubled the agricultural output of a section of the state of Uttar Pradesh, in north-central India.

It is along the lines laid down by Bowles and Holmes, not those proposed by MacArthur and Taft, that we must proceed if we are to help create confidence and prosperity in the non-Communist nations of Asia. This will be our best insurance, in the long run, against the spread of Communism or fascism in those areas. It is obviously a long and difficult task, but we cannot afford to shirk it.

The Indian Famine

READERS desirous of despatching aid to the victims of the major famine in the populous and drought-stricken province of Madras may do so through the Salesian Fathers, who are laboring in both city and rural districts there. Contributions for famine relief may be sent to an American address:

Rev. James O'Loughlen
Salesian Missions
148 Main Street
New Rochelle, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SO THEY TELL ME

The Captive Mind At Work

HE IS a short red-faced man, and he is well dressed with that casualness of men who have always known their clothes were good. He holds his glasses in his hands as if he had been told to buy them but that they had no relation to sight. Of course they have no other use than that to which he puts them: for he has come to speak unburdened by any documents.

He speaks with a good deal of poise, as though he were used to speaking and had resolved to be good-tempered and even amiable. When he has made a point he smiles. And all at once you get the feeling that he does not care very much about what he is saying, that what he says does not go deep into his system, does not emotionally engage him.

It is as if he were taking a certain boyish joy in his public dissidence, were practicing intellectual exercises, and were not greatly affected that you disagreed with him. Norman Thomas, who has come out of American Protestantism to Socialism and anti-Communism, is with him on the stage. This fact is ironic comment on the nature of positions and beliefs. For this man has come out of Wall Street, since he is the son of an internationally known banker. And he is arguing tonight in a polite, almost detached way, that Soviet policies lead toward world peace. The man I am talking about is Corliss Lamont.

MR. LIONEL TRILLING, in an incisive, honest and beautifully written essay on George Orwell (March issue of *Commentary*) lists as middle-class values the love "of order, of manners, the ideal of fairness and responsibility." These bourgeois qualities are absent from Mr. Lamont's followers in the audience. They applaud with a show of force and frenzy when he makes the case which they had approved before they came. They are left in embarrassed silence in the surprising presence of the few mild remonstrances which Mr. Lamont chooses to make against Soviet Russia.

For Russia, Mr. Lamont says, Korea was "a mistake." The absence of civil liberties in Russia is "regrettable." His followers are uneasy when he admits to the "iron curtain." But he makes them viscerally glad again when he says that there is a "steel curtain" in the United States.

You wonder how they accept him, accept the small chastisement he metes out to Russia. You explain to yourself that they are willing, in this setting, to overlook his chaste reproaches, since Mr. Lamont can strain at the gnat while swallowing the camel. (They let pass, though uneasily, this bourgeois, aesthetic prejudice, his little finger pointing.) Like them, he has swallowed their camel. And he does not retch.

After all, Mr. Lamont says tolerantly—and your eyes seek a hidden handkerchief cologne-touched—"sanitation" has never been a high point in Russian history. He accepts the labor camps, unsanitary as they are said to be; they are "corrective," "a training ground for re-employment." That they are physically unclean is not important, nor that they are full of terror which emaciates the body and the spirit. Besides he does "not believe" that there are twenty million people in the camps, nor even fifteen. He "thinks" there are about "two million." Soviet Russia is a "racial democracy." All is well. He can sleep safe tonight. And if there be a slight nocturnal twisting of the limbs it is because his humanistic soul is fretting over South Carolina or Florida.

IT WAS an extraordinary performance. Corliss Lamont and Peter Viereck were at the Rand School here in New York, and I went to hear them in a debate moderated by Norman Thomas.

I went, moved by a certain curiosity, for I was aware of Mr. Lamont's background, his claim to being a humanist, his constant, and even active interest in the National Council of Soviet American Friendship. I was aware that Mr. Lamont took an almost tearful interest in our civil liberties, that he is a director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I am willing to assume that Mr. Lamont is not a Communist, though the distinctions he makes are but slender reeds of difference. I was anxious to hear how such a man would handle himself on such a topic, defend it in the presence of facts which are equally available to us all. I was, above all, anxious to discover what motivates such a man as he.

To that, if answer is to be found, there is no sure clue. Mr. Lamont said that he felt close to Aneurin Bevan, who was "doing a wonderful job in Great Britain." This is confusing. For if I understand Mr. Bevan, he wants a Socialist third force erected in Europe, an ideological island of refuge both from Soviet Communism and American capitalism. If Mr. Lamont feels close to Bevan he is more confusing than one man is entitled to be.

Mr. Bevan is a politician, like Senator Taft, and is without the usual ethical restraints which coerce the minds of men who are free from the concessions political ambition seems to require. Mr. Bevan is making a guess about Soviet Russia. His public statements may have no residence in his conscience. Mr. Lamont is supposed to be pursuing political truth. He has no obvious coercion except that of his conscience and of his mind.

"War," for Mr. Lamont, "is on the program of a fascist power." But it is not on the Soviet program. Russia has "abolished the economic roots of war." Public ownership has left no private groups who can profit from war. The building of armaments is no response to unemployment, as it is in a fascist country. Therefore armaments are "a pain in the neck for the Soviets."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Lamont admits that Russia is building armaments, but that is our fault. She is responding to a threat from outside nations. After all, the fact is that she has been invaded in two world wars. The fact is that she has "agitated for peace all over the world." That she wants peace is proved by her law of March, 1951, "against all war propaganda in the Soviet Union." Surely, he says, all must agree, unless their minds are closed, that such a law "is not a step in the furtherance of war." Some people in the audience laugh at this. But the glasses are upraised, and he smiles like a ruddy child.

Just as you are beginning to get the idea that Mr. Lamont accepts Lenin's economic explanation of war, he rushes forward with his knockout blow. Russia is building "an abundant Socialist life." And in this abundant life—dams bigger than TVA, irrigation, the use of atomic energy for "peaceful purposes"—Russia has "virtually abolished racial discrimination." There is, he asserts blandly, "complete racial democracy in the Soviet Union."

WITH this remark one is led close to the heart of such a mind as Mr. Lamont's. We must either assume that he is familiar with the evidence and refuses to believe it, or that he is not familiar with the evidence. If he does not know Schwartz's work on the Soviet and Jews, or Peter Viereck's appendix to his *Conservatism Revisited,* the work of Elinor Lipper, or of Koestler and Silone, he is operating in a realm of vincible ignorance, and he has no claim to respect as an expert. If he knows the evidence—there is Miss Toni Sender's material for the UN—and rejects it, then we cannot take him seriously. For then he is a man who is self-deceived. He believes what he wants to believe.

One may do that, but if he does, he can hardly lay claim to intellectual strength. His moral nature and the moral character of his argument suddenly reveal themselves as objects of wonder and, perhaps, of a certain pity. They tell us what has happened to the moral fiber of liberalism in our time. And what it is is this: men who live in their bowels, full of pity and of an original, authentic desire for justice, come under those—the men of power—who resort to the cynical use of force, because they have over the years let their intelligence be deceived.

This is the appeal Communism makes to the man of good will all over the world. The existence of his original idealism is enough. It is not necessary that he be a Communist. It is sufficient that he is not an anti-Communist. He is, then, like a man in the toils of a vicious woman. She was never beautiful at the beginning; but she remains beautiful for him because her beauty was always an invention of his own.

Thus you can take the position that Soviet Russia does not engage in anti-Semitism (that came up), that if it exists it was "brought in by the Nazis" and, in any case, is "not official," and that her supposed racial democracy is "a real contribution to world peace." Thus you can attack Munich and Mr. Chamberlain for "selling Czechoslovakia down the river," but say no ill word against Gottwald and his "action committees" who took over that same Czechoslovakia in 1948. You can blame the latter event on the United States, as Henry Wallace used to do when he was saying that "men of vision were not surprised, however, for they knew that the crisis was practically determined by the announcement of the Truman doctrine on March 12, 1947."

Mr. Lamont can even defend the present assault on "Jewish capitalists." What makes capitalism, one kind of capitalism, "Jewish"? Apparently when the Soviets tell Mr. Lamont, he will tell us.

THUS you can find that certain things, like the 1939 pact, are "understandable." You can say that Russia wants to get out of Korea, "they are anxious to liquidate that war." After all, says Mr. Lamont, Malik originated that peace proposal.

You can say that we ought to "sit down and talk with Russia." What we have been doing in Korea seems to have eluded Mr. Lamont. He did make one gratuitous concession though. He said he is against Russia's calling General Ridgway a cannibal "because that doesn't help."

You will have no trouble in accepting the Soviet-Nazi pact as "understandable," nor in asserting that Marxism and Communism have had peace as their object "from the beginning." Either you will have read the documents captured in 1945 by American and British soldiers from the German Foreign Office, or you will not. But if you are Corliss Lamont, you will make no reference to them.

You will admit that the USSR is "a dictatorship," but you will say that "it happens to be a dictatorship that stands for peace"—like the one in China.

Where Mr. Viereck would discomfort others by quoting from Lenin, you will say, if you are Corliss Lamont, that Stalin should be quoted since what he says "proves that the USSR stands for peace." And you will say to Mr. Viereck, "You can't risk our lives by quoting from Lenin."

You maintain that the Russians "don't take over countries": "indigenous Communist parties take over to smash Fascism." In any event, you will say, if you are Corliss Lamont, that the annexed territory was "part of the Czar's empire." And you speak of "this indigenous revolution in China," and deny that the USSR furnished arms to China.

At the time of the Soviet-Nazi pact, Molotov could say that Nazism or Communism was "a matter of political taste." Mr. Lamont accepted that then, as did all the liberals who accepted the pact. They, as he, had accepted the purges. They have had no difficulty from then up to now. But, unlike most of them, Corliss Lamont satisfies his peculiar sense of independence by gentle rebukes of Russia for what he thinks were "mistakes." The attack on Finland, for example, was one of these. But his remonstrances seem to me to be in a class with rebuking a murderer not because he has committed murder, but because he used a blunt knife.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Stage

Three Wishes for Jamie

THERE is very little material for a full-scale musical in Charles O'Neal's simple fairy tale about a young Irishman who wishes three wishes, gets them in a back-handed fashion, and learns to be grateful for what does come his way. And, even with the addition of random gags and knowing stage direction by Abe Burrows, "Three Wishes for Jamie" remains a slight evening in the theatre.

But it is, in its modest way, an ingratiating one. John Raitt, who plays Jamie, has come a long way since his "Carousel" days; to a fine voice he has added considerable skill in conducting himself on stage, and he brings the musical such easy, agreeable conviction that you are inclined to forgive the thinness of its inspiration. He has an attractive partner in Anne Jeffreys, and together the stars add enough weight and warmth to the script to keep it from foundering.

Bert Wheeler is pleasant, too, as the matchmaker who superintends an in-and-out love affair. The contribution he makes is almost entirely his own, for Burrows has supplied him with surprisingly few good lines; but his easygoing, ingenuous style is a great help in bridging the gap between the pseudo-Irish whimsy with which the evening begins and the Broadwayese Americana with which it concludes.

The show further profits from the clean, cool designs which George Jenkins has provided, from the fresh costuming of Miles White, and from an over-all air of unruffled amiability. Peter Conlow is made to carry nearly the whole burden of some indifferent choreography, but he manages a small personal triumph in at least two numbers, "Expectant Father" and "Trottin' to the Fair."

On the debit side must be listed some exceedingly routine lyrics by Ralph Blane, an insecure and somewhat effortful comedy performance by Charlotte Rae as the girl who pursues, but does not get, Jamie, and a tendency on the part of the authors to dawdle over the establishment of their first-act exposition.

"Jamie" isn't exactly exhilarating, but it passes the time of night in an unpretentious and generally affable way. (*At the Mark Hellinger*)

One Bright Day

WHAT we have here is an examination of business ethics, and the businessman's integrity, done in a familiar and rather matter-of-fact manner. Julian Prescott is head of a company manufacturing drugs, and he is proud of his product. During an illness, he has turned the reins of the company over to an ambitious, and decidedly unscrupulous, bright young man. He returns to find the company's best-selling drug seriously altered, and a hush-hush campaign on to conceal the fact that the product is, under certain circumstances, dangerous. The problem which confronts Julian Prescott, as it has confronted certain of Ibsen's heroes before him, is whether to join the conspiracy of silence and thereby save his firm, family, and friends, or to publicize the truth and save the lives of such customers as might be affected. There is never much doubt about the final course an obviously upstanding man is going to take, and the predictability of the play, together with a certain plainness in the writing, robs it of any special excitement.

To be entirely fair about it, though, it must be said that there is a certain steady interest in the mechanics of this kind of melodrama. Though you anticipate every step, there is still curiosity about how the step is to be taken, and if author Sigmund Miller had only supplied his characters and his language with a little more color, you might have forgiven all in exchange for the fun of working out the tricks. Miller *has* brightened up the formula with dashes of caustic comedy—mostly in the sideline comments of a cheerfully disinterested ne'er-do-well, glibly and pleasantly played by Glenn Anders—and he is a tidy man when it comes to tying up the threads of his narrative. But the interest of the play is like that which is always to be found in studying a business graph, a statistical chart: the lines move up and down with meaning and some technical fascination, but they form, when all is said and done, only a skeleton.

Howard Lindsay, who co-produced the play with his long-time partner Russell Crouse, makes an extremely agreeable drug tycoon, and Walter Matthau, who plays the villain of the piece, works hard to make some deep-dyed shenanigans plausible. Bart Burns, Phillip Pine, Joseph Warren, and Paul Rust contribute brief, but sharply pointed, bits. (*At the Royale*)

WALTER KERR.

The Screen

Big Crimes from Little Bookies Grow

AS TIMELY as today's newspaper is *"The Captive City,"* which shows how apathetic, half-guilty citizens allow crime to grow until it takes over. The place is Kennington, USA, a pleasant-looking town with a lot of prosperous, contented American citizens. But the editor of the local newspaper (played by a handsome newcomer John Forsythe who turns in a sincere straight-forward performance) discovers that all is not well in this apparently smooth-running community. His story is told in flashbacks while he and his wife seek shelter in another town's police station. Bit by bit we learn of the corruption that holds Kennington captive.

This is not Chicago or Miami or New York but a respectable, clean-cut town. The editor can hardly believe the story told him by a detective who insists that the Police Chief is hounding him because he knows too much. His suspicions are really aroused when the detective is found dead and the Police Chief does nothing. Doing a little sleuthing on his own, the editor discovers the town is loaded with bookie joints, that even his friends are involved in some of these places. His editorials are laughed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

off: "What do you want to do, reform the world or something?" He is offered bribes—and then threats to keep still. Finally he gets the whole story, including the machinations of a gangster, a Mafia character behind the scenes. It is then that John and his wife make their escape in a cross-country trek to report to the Kefauver Committee. (The Senator speaks directly to the audience at the film's end.)

"The Captive City" has many points in its favor. Producer Theron Ware has gathered a cast of comparatively unknown actors whose unfamiliar faces and unaffected performances give the picture a quality of freshness. Robert Wise has directed this cast well and without the clichés found in most gangster films. In fact this isn't a gangster movie at all. The suspense mounts effectively, but there is little actual violence on the screen.

The script (by Karl Kamb and Alvin Josephy, Jr., from a story by Josephy based on a true account) is written with such realistic detail, and Lee Garmes' photography is handled so well (with location shots taken in Reno) that the whole film has an authentic documentary air.

FOR the John Q. Public who doesn't want to be reminded that he might be responsible for the state of the nation, there are several lively escapist films on hand. Besides being a very entertaining musical, *"Singin' in the Rain"* comes up with some clever satire on Hollywood. The bright script was written by Adolph Green and Betty Comden and the film was directed by Gene Kelly and Stanley Donen, and one is not disappointed in expecting the unusual. Most of the action takes place during that frenzied period in the late twenties when movies discovered they could talk but didn't quite know how. Acting honors go to Jean Hagen as the beautiful-but-dumb silent star whose high, squeaky voice is impossible, and to Millard Mitchell as a producer who thinks his studio better hurry up and make some talkies but he's not sure what to do about the popular Hagen. Gene Kelly, portraying Jean's co-star, and Donald O'Connor, as a pianist who plays mood music when silent movies are being shot, come up with the bright idea of using Debbie Reynold's voice on the sound track instead of Jean Hagen's.

Many of the song-and-dance numbers in "Singin' in the Rain" are top-drawer stuff—with Kelly doing one of his refreshing solos to the title tune, and Donald O'Connor (who is in his best comic style throughout) carrying on in a solo to "Make 'Em Laugh," and several duets with Gene and Debbie and with Gene and Cyd Charise. The musical numbers were staged by Kelly and Donen. While some of them run a little too long, they are mighty pretty to look at—what with Technicolor and all.

JOHN Qs who want to do a little vicarious traveling will find the robust, outdoorsy *"Bend of the River"* to their liking. Its script by Borden Chase at times gets involved for a western but its action is very much on the fast-moving side and the scenery in Technicolor is always a joy to behold. James Stewart plays a reformed Missouri raider who is leading a wagon train from the Middle West to the wilds of Oregon. Among his many problems, like safe-guarding his travelers from Indians and guiding them over perilous mountain passes, is the dubious character played by Arthur Kennedy. Jimmy saves Kennedy from a hanging party; but Kennedy is also a former-raider (Kansas variety) and his intentions to work on the side of good are by no means strictly honorable.

It's good in this film to see Stepin' Fetchit again after his long absence. I hope, however, that producers will start giving him a chance to do something other than the old-fashioned vaudeville darky routine.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Communications

"Disabilities in Spain"

La Crosse, Wis.

TO THE Editors: Permit me to make the following observations concerning your editorial "Disabilities in Spain," in the March 21 issue. The editorial reflects:

1) Shallow and intellectually hazy thinking;

2) A total ignorance of the true situation of Spain and mentality of Spaniards;

3) A "me too" type of journalism so rampant in the American press which places emphasis on a "hit and miss" type of volume rather than the truth and thoughtful analysis of events that transpire.

However, your editorial is consistent with the obvious COMMONWEAL policy of opposing Spain at all costs. Even though you consistently sound the same note and have repeatedly commented on the subject of Spain, your knowledge of Spain apparently is acquired solely from reading such publications as the New York *Times,* the *New Republic,* the *Nation* and the *New Age.* The amount of editorial comment you have allocated to the subject of Spain would indicate that you consider it a major international issue. Nonetheless, you obviously have not informed yourself with first-hand knowledge or have consulted recognized and impartial authorities on Spain. Your views are in direct opposition to those of the historian Carleton Hayes. I personally do not pretend to know all there is to know about modern Spain. As in any country, there are objectionable situations in Spain. In my visit to Spain, I sought to gain special information on this alleged religious persecution. Admittedly, my observations were of a superficial nature, yet, I must say that my convictions—based on fact—are foreign to those expressed in your journal.

More basically, your recent editorial on Spain indicated a dangerous unacquaintance with the traditional Catholic teaching on Church-State relationship. You have supplanted this teaching with the Blanshardian and Oxnam peculiar interpretation of Church-State relationship. You

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appear to be more concerned with dispelling Blanshard's "darkest fears" than expounding Christ's doctrine, however unpopular it may be with the pseudo-intellectuals and secularistic liberals of this country.

One request: If you insist on editorializing on Spain constantly, please acquaint yourself with first-hand knowledge, not hearsay, half truths, outright lies and misinterpretations as found in certain left-wing Protestant journals.

(Rev.) Anthony P. Wagener.

Miles City, Montana

TO THE Editors: Your editorial "Disabilities in Spain" was a sane and honest appraisal of Cardinal Segura's statement; a magnificent piece. I feel sure that your editorial must echo the thoughts of the *majority* of American Catholics—laity and clergy—because such intolerance is more than annoying to Americans, it is almost unbelievable. Yet there is an understanding for it in the present Spanish context. That will be made capital of in much of the Catholic press—and will probably be interpreted adversely (the Catholic press statements) by the Blanshards.

I want to thank you, as one priest, for saying what was said in the reasonable and calm way that you did. Editorials like that would justify The Commonweal's existence even if that were all you ever published.

(Rev.) James F. Kittleson.

The Lattimore Case

Staples, Minn.

TO THE Editors: Your comments on the Lattimore Testimony (March 21) are the culmination of a crescendo of nonsense called liberalism for which you have been noted the past decade. Fortunately your paper is taken seriously by few except immature young folk in Catholic colleges, who have a 'yen' for being radical while still living on Papa's allowance and avoiding excommunication from the Church. But the soppy Communist line which you have followed behind an arrangement of adjectives designed to shield your respectability, should no longer delude anyone.

You state that the American people 'now view' the Chinese Communists as nothing but a band of terrorists who have extended their sway by naked force alone. The only people who are arriving at such conclusions 'now' are the diseased propagandists who tried so long and desperately to have them considered 'agrarian reformers,' The Commonweal echoing in its own effeminate pitch this directed line. And when you slap our wrists for 'misreading the dynamism of Chinese and other Communism' and for 'ignoring the Marxist program and forgetting its social and political message' we should be ready to burst into tears, only that we knew all along that the only dynamism Communism has ever had or ever will have, is the dynamism of lies, its own and the lies of dupes like Lattimore and your own budding charlatans who weakly plead its defense.

You did not complain that full scale intervention on our part to save China from Japanese aggression was impossible, or immoral, but now you state that it was both as regards social-minded Mao's aggression. Is the *Daily Worker* your only source of news? And after years and months of 'deploring' that Wisconsin's Senator Joseph McCarthy was a threat to freedom and our national integrity for his intimations that Owen Lattimore worked for Communism, you now make a right about face and state that 'What the McCarran Committee is trying to prove is of distinctly limited interest and use.' It must be to you and Lattimore, but may it not be of some service to justice in the case of McCarthy and the generality of Americans who can sense traitors and frauds by the stench of their literary productions? And your fatherly reproof to Lattimore for knowing so little about Communism applies equally well to your publication which aped the State Department in its own feeble way of following his directions. You've sunk so low that you cannot make us angry. Your present state can but evoke laughter and our gentlest scorn.

(Rev.) F. C. Falque.

The following are representative excerpts from editorials in The Commonweal:

August 9, 1946: If we were to withdraw now the few thousand troops and marines we have in Chinese areas, if we should withhold military supplies, withdraw military advisers and the like, we should compound our past neglect and the concessions forced upon China at Yalta, and we should leave the Chinese prey to a civil war which would render them more helpless and wretched than ever. And it would be folly for us to insist on Kuomintang-Communist coalition government. The interests of the Chinese people and the cause of peace now depend upon the establishment of an effective central authority under Chiang Kai-shek.

August 30, 1946: The American policy in China seems much too vague to achieve anything useful.

January 10, 1947: The Chinese Communist regime is a separate, outside, rebellious organization, which, first of all, is Communist, and which is an enemy of the legitimate Chinese government, and is devoted not to aiding, broadening and sanitizing the general government but rather to sabotaging, undermining and eliminating it. Its identity with the Russian State Party is increasingly flagrant.

December 17, 1948: How is it possible to reconcile a pro-Communist China policy with our European Recovery program—how does it make sense to spend billions reconstructing free, non-Communist Europe and at the very same time sit down and watch totalitarian forces beat down the back door in Asia? Why should we lament totalitarian advances in Germany, Czechoslovakia, or in France, and not in China? Or can it be that we are not completely disabused of the fable that Communism in China is strictly a nice, local, independent reform move-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment unrelated to Kremlin tactics?

July 8, 1949: At this time, American Chinese policy is a policy of default. The Government pretends that our Chinese policy is in suspension, that we are "letting the dust settle," that for now there is no China policy. Such a negative attitude, however, nevertheless produces a positive effect, and we are responsible, whether we want to be or not . . . when our action in fact has to, by the circumstances, favor either Mao *or* Chiang, then we believe we simply must favor Chiang.

October 14, 1949: The inescapable fact is that the Peking army and government are orthodox Communists, satellite to Russia, operated by the CP to impose the full totalitarian Soviet life on the Chinese and to spread that life and regime in all oriental countries and over the whole world. That fact can be denied or hidden only by dishonest people attempting to fool their neighbors, or by people who abnormally refuse to face evidence. All arguments about China policy which involve the happy myth of agrarian reformers freely establishing an independent, democratic counter-regime to the nefarious Kuomintang must be thrown out of honest society with the rudeness reserved for the big lie. . . .

The people and institutions who do support and have formed and supported the American China program do not warrant confidence. We don't know who they all are who have dominated Washington's Chinese thinking, but so frequently mentioned in this connection that they would have to be specially whitewashed are eminent men and organizations like Philip Jessup, John Carter Vincent, Henry Wallace, Lauchlin Currie, Owen Lattimore; the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Foreign Policy Association. They all appear at best as feeble, irresolute and unsuccessful advisers. . . .

January 27, 1950: When the Chinese Nationalists took flight from the mainland to the island of Formosa, China, the world's most populous country, left the company of the democracies and joined the expanding Russian empire. So did Soviet Communism continue to fill out its design for the future and to give shape and meaning to the term "world revolution." . . . One would like very much to believe in [the present U. S.] policy, to watch the nonchalant mind triumph so casually over the cynic. Unfortunately, the facts of recent history leave us without real faith in this policy because we have learned that a police-state, once established, cannot be blown down casually, nor does it come into being casually.

We know of only one way to prevent the spread of the police-state: by a show of moral and physical resistance and by a lot of hard work organizing a vigorous program of reconstruction.

May 11, 1951: Surely we can no longer follow a policy of drift and indecision. In August, 1949, when Owen Lattimore was asked to submit a memorandum setting forth his views on Far Eastern policy, he said, among other things, that "it is not possible to make Japan a satisfactory instrument of American policy." This, he said, might lead to "overcommitment of American resources to a distant and vulnerable region." The point is, of course, it is not necessary to make Japan an instrument of American policy; it *is* necessary to make Japan secure as a free nation and to keep as much of Asia as possible in a similar condition. But, at any rate, so goes the Lattimore doctrine of withdrawal and defeatism. Let us, by all means, have no more of it.

—THE EDITORS.

Lattimore and McCarthy

Madison, Wis.

TO the Editors: If one were to judge by the advance build-up in the newspapers and on the radio, Madison, Wisconsin, was the scene of a battle of Titans when Senator McCarthy and Owen Lattimore were billed for speeches on the same week-end.

Wisconsin is the Senator's home stomping-ground, and the grilling which the McCarran Committee had given Lattimore provided a dramatic backdrop to the Far Eastern "expert's" address at the University of Wisconsin.

I attended both addresses and as I listened to the two speakers on succeeding evenings, it seemed to me that the crisis of our time was being acted out on Tom Thumb dimensions. And yet extremely accurate in detail and proportions.

Senator McCarthy spoke Saturday evening in the ballroom of the Lorraine Hotel. His audience, the Young Republicans. Owen Lattimore spoke on Sunday evening in the theatre of the University of Wisconsin. His audience, the students and professors of the university. To many people, Senator McCarthy is Mr. Right. To quite a few, he is Mr. Catholic-in-politics. To many others, Mr. Lattimore is Mr. Left. To some of these, he is also Mr. Marx-in-kid-gloves.

And, of course, there are a great many people whose opinions are not quite settled yet. They rather think McCarthy may be right, after all, even if he is a Republican. And this Mr. Lattimore, say others still, is just a dummy for someone else's mistakes. Someone, they say, has to take it on the chin for what has happened in Korea, not to mention the rest of the Far East.

People are trying to make up their minds about these matters: What should I do at the next election? Is McCarthy right? Is Lattimore wrong? What is freedom? What is democracy? What . . . but what's the use?

I went to hear McCarthy and Lattimore to try to settle some of these questions for myself. The experience was most unsatisfactory.

Senator McCarthy assumed the attitude of the offended god. When a reporter for the *Capital Times,* a local sheet the Senator describes as the Madison edition of the *Daily Worker,* asked what was a very fair question, McCarthy leered and sneered at him, laughed him to scorn with a hearty baritone, joined in the joint boo-ing of the Young (very young) Republicans, and then shouted: "Throw the bum out!"

Later he quieted the crowd down and gave the har-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assed reporter the floor. "Where did ou get that letter you just quoted?" asked the reporter, Miles McMillin. McCarthy's illuminating response was: "Wouldn't you like to know, Miles? Ha, ha, haaaa. . . ."

This was a bad example of democratic procedure, I thought. And my memory went back to a day just a year before when I had been given the same treatment at a student meeting where I had attempted to defend Cardinal Mindszenty before a very hostile crowd.

Sure, the Senator has documents. A briefcase full of them! Mimeographed, of course, but one might trust them to some extent. And yet, could one? If the Senator's technique is democratic, something has happened to democracy.

"You have to fight fire with fire!" Do you? And what do you have left after the conflagration has died down into cold ashes?

Now for Lattimore.

The university auditorium was packed. A student speaker introduced Mr. Lattimore as an expert on Far Eastern affairs. "Our guest speaker will answer questions after his address. However, he requests that you limit your questions to the subject matter of his talk!"

Mr. Lattimore acknowledged the tremendous ovation with a bow. He adjusted his spectacles, sifted his papers, smiled at his audience, and then proceeded to deliver "a very scholarly address on the total picture in our Asiatic policy," as the university newspaper announced the next day.

The speech over, questions followed. No mention of McCarthy, no mention of the McCarran committee hearings, no mention of what had been the guest speaker's considered judgment in 1939 in *Pacific Affairs,* in *Solution in Asia,* in the letters to the State Department before and after World War II. All was very polite. Very correct.

Mr. Lattimore gathered his papers, smiled graciously, bowed to the applause. All very correct.

Senator McCarthy had vociferated, sighed convincingly, spoken of the blood of American boys on the sandy soil of Korea, laughed uproariously at the discomfort of the reporter.

Mr. Lattimore had spoken learnedly, indulged in no histrionics, was the perfect professor and "expert on Far Eastern affairs."

A professor commented the following day: "Professor Lattimore displayed brilliant insight into world affairs. He has demonstrated effectively the difference between the irresponsible mouthings of McCarthyism and the well-weighed utterances of a scholar who is also a man of action!"

What is the answer? Why must the self-styled defender of "our American heritage" play the role of hoodlum? How long are the "clever" people going to play hob with people's minds?

"Throw the bum out!"

"No questions, please."

McCarthy versus Lattimore?

Where do *we* come in?

(Rev.) CHRISTOPHER E. FULLMAN, O.S.B.

Leisure in a Bourgeois World

By WILLIAM P. CLANCY

THE popular notion of leisure as an opportunity for "escape" leaves many deeply puzzled by the words of the psalmist: "Have leisure and know that I am God." In order to understand the words we must recover a loftier, more classical concept of leisure as an affirmative condition (the very opposite of idleness) by which man transcends the world of work and, having transcended it, is enabled to contemplate those things which lie beyond it—himself, the universe, and God.

This concept of leisure is one of the foundations of Western culture, more, one of the indispensable conditions without which man is something less than man—a mere worker, a functionary, a thing. It is the subject of a brilliant examination in two essays by the German philosopher Joseph Pieper, now published under the title *Leisure the Basis of Culture* (*pantheon,* $2.75).

The first and title essay is a profound investigation, historically and sociologically, into the nature of leisure itself. The second essay, "The Philosophical Act," studies philosophy as leisure's highest good, the human act *par excellence.* This essay is a logical extension of the first because, as Dr. Pieper observes, philosophy, which is the eternal search for wisdom, presupposes "silence, a contemplative attention to things, in which man begins to see how worthy of reverence they really are."

The basis for both essays is the author's thesis: "Culture depends for its very foundation on leisure, and leisure, in its turn, is not possible unless it has a durable and living link with the *cultus,* with divine worship." A quotation from Plato, which introduces the essays, remarkably illustrates the antique origins and classical importance of this thesis:

> But the gods, taking pity on mankind, born to work, laid down the succession of recurring Feasts to restore them from their fatigues . . . so that nourishing themselves in festive companionship with the gods, they should again stand upright and erect.

The nature of leisure is thus basically united to contemplation in the great tradition of western culture, and both are dependent on a real awareness of the transcendent and the Divine. Here lies the secret of freedom.

THE difficulty is that modern civilization has placed the idea of leisure in double jeopardy: the triumph of a purely utilitarian social idealism has left little room and less regard for a concept which produces nothing immediate and concrete toward "progress"; the very idea of a "leisure class" has fallen into disrepute as an aristocratic anachronism, something incompatible with egalitarianism. And the growing externalization of life, the almost universal phenomenon of an activist mass-culture,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has emptied the virtue of contemplation of any meaning for the majority of modern men, and left them dismally unprepared to cope with leisure in the few moments when they may still have an opportunity for it.

Boredom and ennui, a frantic search for diversion, are the common reactions to an hour, or a day, of quiet. The modern Cleopatra in Eliot's *Waste Land* desperately asking "What shall I do now? What shall I do? . . . What shall we do tomorrow? What shall we ever do?" undoubtedly gives voice to one of contemporary man's most pathetic problems. Manufacturers of television sets and producers of endless third-rate movies have made their fortunes providing an answer, an answer itself symptomatic of the problem.

It does not seem far-fetched to speculate that future historians may mark down this disappearance of any popular regard for or understanding of the nature of leisure, and, at the same time, the near-hysterical search for external diversion, as one of the major culture crises of modern civilization. And there can be little doubt that it followed upon the victory of the bourgeois spirit (with all that this implies) over the older Hellenistic-Judeo-Christian tradition of western culture. For leisure, and its highest goal, contemplation, lie at the heart of this tradition, but they are eternal strangers to bourgeois value.

In his memorable essay, "The Bourgeois Mind," Nicholas Berdyaev has defined the state of being bourgeois as a state distinguished by its particular "soullessness," its constitutional inability to comprehend the heroic and the transcendent. Consequently, the genuine bourgeois, to the extent that he is a bourgeois, is at heart the enemy of Christ. Berdyaev quotes Leon Bloy's bitter aside on bourgeois religiosity: "The Lord Jesus is very decorative in shop windows."

When the bourgeois is a social reformer, when he occupies himself with building a "better world," he reduces man to a functionary, a thing, and robs him of that unique dignity and freedom which consist in his transcending the realm of "things." The totality of reality is thus something to be used rather than something to be *reverenced,* and concepts such as leisure and contemplation lose all meaning, become, indeed, a scandal. Both God and man are exiles from a bourgeois world.

SO COMPLETE has been the triumph of the bourgeois spirit in the modern world that, in Christopher Dawson's words, "we are all more or less bourgeois, and our civilization is bourgeois from top to bottom." To look for the bourgeois, then, in one economic group or in some particular ideological faction is to mistake the nature of the bourgeois spirit, which is a universal one. (It is ironic that the "bourgeois" is the favorite whipping boy of Marxist propaganda, but, once the true nature of the bourgeois spirit is understood, Marxism must appear as its terrible, but final and logical *reductio ad absurdam.*) The bourgeois spirit is everywhere, in the schools, in the press, in the legislatures, in the churches. It is found among rich and poor, among capitalists and Communists, among Catholics and Protestants and Jews.

This triumph of the bourgeois spirit has witnessed the almost universal acceptance of the bourgeois virtues—the virtues of the practical and immediately useful, of work for work's own sake, of the "rational." We need only consult our own experience to realize the extent of this triumph in our world and the extreme difficulty of rejecting its implications.

We live in a world which has come under the control of a "mystique of work," and we are all, more or less, wedded to the practical. A "good" education is one which prepares one for a "good" job, and a "good" job is one which pays lots of money. A "successful" man is one who has accumulated a significant amount of the world's goods, and "used" them in a practical way.

Josef Pieper defines the proletarian as "the man who is fettered to the process of work." Every man whose life is completely filled by his work, he tells us, "is a proletarian because his life has shrunk inwardly, and contracted, with the result that he can no longer act significantly outside his work, and perhaps can no longer even conceive of such a thing."

Thus defined, the great majority of modern men are proletarians; the mystique of work controls more and more of life. Leisure itself, in this world, becomes a mere necessary stop between rounds of work and its value is seen as preparing us to work more efficiently on the morrow. It is at once an escape from work and a prelude to more work. Civilization thus progresses toward the level of the bee-hive.

"It is necessary for the perfection of human society," Aquinas wrote, "that there should be men who devote their lives to contemplation." Bourgeois civilization, in failing to understand and value the true meaning and lofty dignity of leisure, has lost the concept of contemplation, and, in so doing, has lost the concept of man. For it is in leisure, genuinely understood, that man rises above the level of a thing to be used and enters the realm where he can be at home with the potentialities of his own nature, where, with no concern for *doing,* no ties to the immediate, the particular, and the practical, he can attend to the love of wisdom, can begin leading a truly human life. Thus, transcending the world of work, man ceases to be a proletarian. He begins to function as man.

"There is one institution in the world," Pieper reminds us, "which forbids useful activity and servile work on particular days, and in this way prepares, as it were, a sphere for a non-proletarian existence." The Church, through her liturgy and cycles of feasts, invites man to that leisure and contemplation where he can again "stand upright and erect." It provides one of the last remaining refuges from a workaday bourgeois world.

Leisure the Basis of Culture is a profound and rich book. It should remind us that if we become so engaged in the activities connected with "saving" Western civilization that, in the process, we lose what capacity for leisure is left us, then we can never "save" Western civilization at all, but only that dreary counterfeit, the world of the bourgeois functionary. We will have prepared the way for the final and universal reign of the sub-human.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

The Weakling and *The Enemy*. *François Mauriac*. *Pellegrini and Cudahy*. $3.

"WHERE in this harsh world had God set up His dwelling? Where was a trace of Him to be found?" Wretched, frail, homely Guillou ponders his misery; he is the weakling child of Paula and Galeas, loved by his father and grandmother, and hated by his mother, who sees in him all she despises in the aristocratic family into which she married and was never accepted.

The Weakling is a new short novel by François Mauriac, who is probably the greatest French explorer of evil, the greatest analyst of the eternal conflict between good and evil, and the greatest distiller of the shattering experiences brought on by man's plunge through the dark night of passion. Beyond the fact that this little novel is gripping and terrifying, it is, much more, Mauriac at his best in presenting characters who emerge full-bodied and fully tortured from the very first.

Certainly, few novelists can make you feel and see, in such forceful prose and with no waste of words, the unhappy twisting of the human spirit which has become the victim of hate. The climax is shocking, but an inevitably dramatic one. Guillou, rejected by the schoolmaster as a private pupil (the schoolmaster had given the boy some hope, but the master is a Communist and cannot bring himself to serve the cause of the rich in even this way) and numbed by the savage renewal of his mother's scorn, moves off to his end, with his father following in hopeless certainty of what is to come.

THERE is more searching of sin in *The Enemy*, an older novel, just translated. This is a story of an illicit love between Fabien, a young man, and Fanny, one-time friend of his mother. Fanny leads Fabien into an infatuation and a love affair, but also leads him into a new world—a world of new and great discoveries albeit a world of suffering. Fabien's mother is his conscience; she is a stern but God-loving and God-fearing woman, who sees her son slip away, too far away ever to really return.

Once more, there is great characterization. Fabien is the confused, handsome and brilliant young man, who is always questioning and probing life's problems, but finds that when he has succumbed to passion, he is only adrift. But it is in Fanny that we get a picture of the completely human woman. She is not only a slave to her senses, but also to her own realization of this. She finally sends Fabien away, so that he can find his way "back into the life of grace." The third woman in Fabien's life, Colombe, whom he thinks he loves, can never be his. He cannot cross the bar of his passion for Fanny.

New Hope Against Leprosy

The Catholic Medical Mission Board has been happy to find that a new remedy for leprosy can be purchased abroad which is well recommended and effective, but costs only $1 for enough to treat one of the poor sufferers for a year, often with the prospect of a cure. There are 11,000,000 men, women and children afflicted with this disease. We should like to send a generous supply of this saving remedy to help as many as we can. Our first shipment, a million tablets! Send all you can to the Catholic Medical Mission Board, 10 West 17th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

NEXT WEEK

The Commonweal's

EDUCATION NUMBER

Rev. George B. Ford on

Corpus Christi School

Oliver Martin on

Religion and the University

CAMP WE-HA-KEE On Green Bay Marinette, Wisconsin

For Girls 6-16

Conducted by Dominican Sisters, Sinsinawa, Wisconsin

1952 Season July 1-August 19, $350.

For information write

Sister David O'Leary, 200 Ridge Ave., Winnetka, Ill.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These two works are highly sensitive companion pieces. Innocence and guilt, good and evil, sin and sanctity are all interwoven. The regeneration of man through the plumbing of the depths of despair is a theme that challenges the Christian artist. Surely Mauriac and Greene are the contemporary masters of this challenge. As Mauriac asks at the end of the story of Fabien: "Where is the artist who may care to imagine the processes and shifts of the great protagonist—Grace? It is the mark of our slavery and of our wretchedness that we can, without lying, paint a faithful portrait only of the passions." T. E. CASSIDY.

The Geography of Hunger. Josué de Castro. Little, Brown. $4.50.

THIS is an essay in opinion which provides surprisingly little factual description to back up its heated declarations. The author points fiercely to several kinds of hunger which afflict a huge proportion (about eighty-five percent) of the world's population: the famine of too little rood; deficiencies in the "supply of proteins, of certain fats, of mineral salts, and of certain vitamins."

To protein deficiency the writer attributes run-away birthrates. When people get the right amount of top grade, animal proteins, he claims, they produce few children (and the children flourish). "The groups with highest fertility are those who have the lowest percentage of complete proteins, animal proteins, in their regular diets."

Josué de Castro attacks principally the institutional, economic and political causes of hunger. His analysis of the politics and economy behind food production appear rather partial and disordered. On the one hand, he expresses a liberalistic neutralism of an extreme variety that would be hard to distinguish from the meekest and most obscurantist fellow-traveling. But he purports to deplore "imperialism," very loosely defined, and absentee ownership, and he records hate of "latifundia," and "monoculture," or huge, single-crop, cash farming.

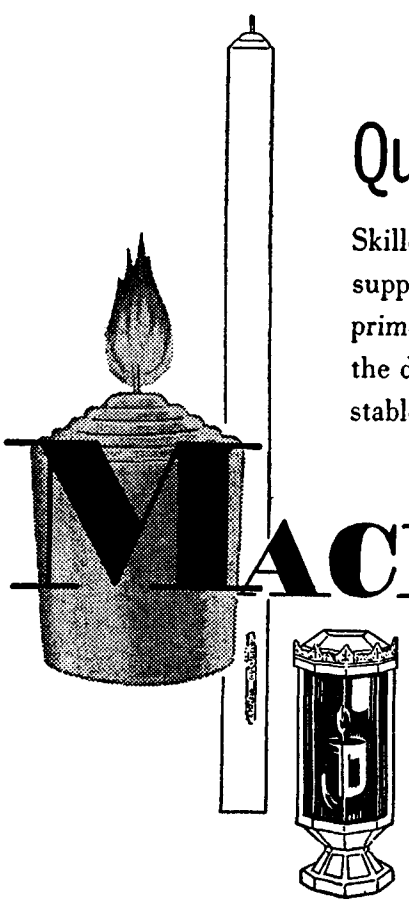
The Geography of Hunger seems a discouragingly mixed-up tract to be written by the Chairman of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. It does, however, provide a charge of energy through its hot message about the almost infinite possibilities for bettering the hunger map of the whole world — if the will and mind were mobilized.

PHILIP BURNHAM.

Return to Chesterton. Maisie Ward. Sheed and Ward. $4.50.

A MASS of fresh material, which might have gone into a new edition of Maisie Ward's biography, has been deployed instead as a separate volume. If I say that her second book presupposes the first, that doesn't mean I am in the pay of the publishers; it happens to be true. What we get here is mainly a fascinating medley of letters and anecdotes, revealing Chesterton in relation to all sorts of people—friends, colleagues, children, secretaries, tradesmen.

It is fine middleweight reading.



Quality and service

Skilled craftsmanship and trained representatives . . . supported by modern manufacturing methods, prime materials, and careful management . . . insure the delivery of quality and service at stable and outstanding values.

MACK-MILLER

ecclesiastical candles

MACK-MILLER

CANDLE CO., INC., Syracuse 1, N. Y.

New York • Chicago • Boston • New Orleans • Los Angeles

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The University of Notre Dame

WRITERS' CONFERENCE

June 23-28, 1952

3 *Workshops*:
Fiction
Poetry
The Teaching of Creative Writing

Staff:
Karl Shapiro
Frank Luther Mott
Betty Finnin
John T. Frederick
Richard Sullivan
John Frederick Nims

Fees:
Any one Workshop, $15
Additional Workshops, $10 each

Room and Board:
Facilities available on the campus for both men and women

For additional information, write to:

Prof. Louis Hasley, Director
The Writers' Conference
Notre Dame, Indiana

Classified

★ Rate for your message, 12½c a word. 85c each for centered lines. $1.50 minimum ad. Discounts: 5% for 3 times, 10% for 7 times, 15% for 13 times.

BOOKS

★ Books: Used, Old, Rare.
For librarians, Collectors, Readers.
Hugh Stock. Reasonably Priced.
Catalogs Free. Browsers Invited.
Want Lists Solicited. Libraries Purchased.
DAUBER & PINE BOOKSHOPS, INC
66 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

IRISH BOOKS AND GIFTS

★ Books, Linens, Gifts, *Catalogs*.
IRISH INDUSTRIES DEPOT, Inc.
876 Lexington Ave. (near 65th), New York

CATHOLIC BOOKS

★Catholic Books, Christmas Cards, Woodcarvings, Ceramics, Rosaries, Missals. Imports from Oberammergau, Belgium and France. THE GUILD BOOK SHOP, 117 East 57th Street, New York 22, N. Y. Plaza 3-0225. Catalogue on request.

CATHOLIC MOTION PICTURES

★ Send for FREE copy of
CATHOLIC FILM DIRECTORY
Motion Pictures for Catholic Audiences.
29 Salem Way, Yonkers 3, N. Y.

SUMMER POSITION WANTED

★ College graduate desires summer position as governess with family traveling abroad. Box 328, THE COMMONWEAL.

But things emerge which concern the serious student. A point well brought out, for instance, is that the social setting in which the mighty apologist matured was far more friendly and happy than its modern equivalent. One sees how the world of the enlightened Edwardian bourgeoisie could favor the growth of Chesterton's mysticism; a state of mind like that found among Chinese Buddhists, in which common experience is inherently holy.

Yet G. K., as we know, saw through his class. He discovered and exposed, not only the moribundity of its creeds, but the moribundity of its heresies. The sketch of Gabriel Syme in *The Man Who Was Thursday*—the rebel who revolts into orthodoxy because agnosticism and vegetarianism and all the other fads are played out—is a truly amazing forecast. Chesterton's own disillusionments unfortunately propelled him into a quite hopeless position, and here again the new book adds something.

Before the First World War he flirted with Socialism under the influence of an extraordinary Anglican clergyman named Noel (why has his biographer ignored Noel?). Later he decided that Socialism, like so much else in the contemporary world, was an illusion obscuring men's natural perceptions of truth and goodness. Whereupon he launched the social-economic movement called Distributism. Its plans for de-centralization and small property and self-reliance failed to attract any important element of the public, because its axioms were rooted in the lost England of his youth. Chesterton assumed, for example, that the common man didn't think Socialistically. But to an increasing extent he did. Chesterton assumed a sort of fundamental Christianity. By the 1920's this was evaporating. To the whole dismal Distributist affair Maisie Ward devotes an illuminating chapter, showing how an essentially noble movement was ruined in short order by cranks, muddlers, and agotists.

However, Chesterton cannot be dissected without seeming duller than he was. Read the book. Never mind the reviews.

GEOFFREY ASHE.

Soil and Civilization. Edward Hyams. Thames and Hudson. $4.50.

VEGETATIVE and animal life on earth demand the maintenance of a delicate balance, and if one species upsets unduly that balance to win a short-term benefit, it will destroy soil fertility and consequently itself. Such is the thesis in support of which Mr. Hyams surveys the progress of agricultural techniques in the main civilizations of the past and present, emphasizing the dependence of man on his physical environment, particularly the soil, and the part played in the decay of those civilizations which have perished by soil depletion resulting from neglect of inadequate observance of the laws of soil fertility.

The book is a reasoned and generally restrained contribution to what is too often today an extremely impassioned and partisan discussion of the relationship between world food resources and population. Nevertheless, it falls far short of proving its thesis. The proposition that man has historically been the sole or even the principal upsetter of the soil balance is hardly sustainable scientifically, nor is it true that soil depletion has always been the dominating factor in human relations and the decay of civilization. To state roundly, for example—as Mr. Hyams does—that Rome was forced to quarrel with Carthage because she had abandoned subsistence husbandry, is a gross oversimplification of the complex motivations behind the clash of civilizations.

A main weakness is the author's naturalistic philosophy, his interpretation of man as bound in the same way to material processes as the other elements in nature, and the consequent assumption that he is incapable of modifying intelligently the balance of nature so as to reap greater annual returns while simultaneously maintaining or adding to his utilizable capital of fertile soil. He does not deny that a balance is attainable at varying production levels; in fact, the most practical part of the book is the section on "the perfect artificial soil" of western Europe, where a high-level balance has been held for centuries. But he won't accept that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this has been more than a happy concatenation of circumstances.

This same inadequate criterion may explain why he stops short of a study of the agricultural revolution, begun in this country and rapidly expanding to others, based on mechanical power, genetics and chemistry. His righteous indignation rages against the "soil mining" that has depleted much of the natural wealth of the Americas. But the history of past errors can tell little to the future without a judgment on the practices of the present. Those who believe that intelligent man can achieve a new soil balance —using soil in the widest connotation of all utilizable food sources—producing and delivering to the consumer quantities of food beyond the dreams of former generations, while maintaining and improving soil fertility, want to know whether the new agriculture is in fact establishing the high-level soil balance necessary to feed adequately our increasing world population. And Mr. Hyams doesn't even ask the question.

GARY MACEOIN.

On the Power of God. Saint Thomas Aquinas. Newman. $6.50.

THIS is a reprint of the 1932 English Dominican edition of Saint Thomas's *quaestiones disputatae* on the power of God. It was customary for medieval masters to take on all comers at the university public disputations, but it is not exact to think of these jousts as a kind of ecclessiastical tournament; they formed an integral part of the philosophical and theological course. The volume should be of special service to students of the *Summa*.

REVIEWERS

T. E. Cassidy is at present doing advanced work at Columbia University.
Geoffrey Ashe is an English critic and journalist who is now living in Canada. He has written for the *Month* and other British periodicals.
Gary MacEoin is the editor of *La Hacienda*, a South American agricultural review.

Colleges and Schools

MARYLAND

COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME OF MARYLAND

North Charles St., Baltimore, Maryland. An accredited Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women. Conducted by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Exceptional advantages. For information address the Registrar.

PENNSYLVANIA

ROSEMONT COLLEGE

Rosemont, Pa. A Catholic College for Women conducted by the Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Situated on the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Eleven miles from Philadelphia. Address the Registrar for information. Telephone Bryn Mawr 4514.

NEW JERSEY

CALDWELL COLLEGE

Caldwell, New Jersey. A Catholic College for Women conducted by the Sisters of St. Dominic. Located twenty miles from New York City. Resident and non-resident students. Offers A.B. and B.S, Degrees, Address Registrar for information. Telephone Caldwell 6-3660.

MINNESOTA

THE COLLEGE OF ST. CATHERINE

A Liberal Arts College for Women. Awards the B.A., B.S, and B.S, in Library Science degrees. Approved by the Association of American Universities. Liberal arts, nursing, home economics, teaching, and physical education. Conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet. For information address the Dean, 2004 Randolph Avenue, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

WISCONSIN

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY

Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin. Co-educational. Conducted by the Jesuit Fathers. Fully accredited degree courses in Liberal Arts, Business Administration, Dentistry, Dental Hygiene, Education, Engineering, Journalism, Law, Medicine, Medical Technology, Nursing, Speech and Graduate School. Army and Navy ROTC units. Address Director of Admissions.

ILLINOIS

ROSARY COLLEGE

River Forest, Illinois. Conducted by The Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. Approved by the Association of American Universities. Liberal Arts, Home Economics, Library Science, Library School accredited by American Library Association. Foreign Study Branch for Junior Year Abroad at Fribourg, Switzerland. Graduate study in Fine Arts at Pius XII Institute, Florence, Italy.

COLORADO

THE ABBEY SCHOOL

Canon City, Colorado, the home of the Royal Gorge on the fringe of the beautiful Rockies. Ideal climate in a typical western atmosphere. A resident school for boys 9th to 12th grades conducted by Benedictine monks. Small classes, college prep, complete guidance department. Full program of interscholastic and intramural sports including horseback riding and mountain week-end trips. Address Rev. Headmaster.

Camp

CAMP ST. JOHN'S

A Lakeside Mountain Camp. Boys 6-16. 2,300 ft. alt. Sandy beach on Hunter Lake. 100 miles from N. Y. C. Modern buildings. Lavatory in each cabin. Hot showers. Excellent meals. Diversified activities, recreational and instructional. Mature, professional staff. One counsellor for every four boys. Tuition $400 season. Catalogue. Write: Robert C. Giegengack, Yale Univ. Athletic Assn., New Haven, Conn. Directors: Rev. Herbert McElroy—Robert Giegengack.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Coming Issues

CHESTER BOWLES on democratic aid to Asia: "The task of strengthening Indian democracy is essentially the task of strengthening India's villages—and securing the participation of the villagers themselves in their own advancement."

COMPTON MACKENZIE contributes an essay on the subject of reaching the age of seventy: "Now, on the threshold of seventy, I am just as rash, just as curious, just as industrious, just as fond of good company, good wine, good cigars and late hours . . . "

JOHN W. SIMONS writes about the novel, grace and the bourgeoisie: "There is danger in this preoccupation with the extremes of virtue and vice, with its rude liquidation of the spiritual 'middle classes.' While mediocrity is contemptible as an ideal, it is not contemptible as an achievement."

ROBERT BARRAT on the French problem in Indo-China.

HOWARD SNYDER on agricultural progress in the South.

Special Trial Offer: 18 Issues for $2

THE COMMONWEAL, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $2.00, please send the next 18 Issues to:

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY .....

4/11/52

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED